

# THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

No. 11.

RICHMOND, SATURDAY, MAY 16, 1840.

Vol. I.

## CONGRESSIONAL.

IN SENATE,  
Thursday, May 7, 1840.

Mr. KNIGHT presented the memorial of a number of citizens of the State of Rhode Island, praying the passage of a bankrupt law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

On motion by Mr. DIXON, it was ordered that the memorial of Burrington Anthony, presented on the 4th instant, be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MERRICK presented a memorial of the corporation of Alexandria, praying an amendment to the charter of that town; [that the Mayor thereof be elected by the people;] which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

On motion by Mr. WRIGHT, the petition and papers of Enoch Hidden were taken from the files, and referred to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

Mr. GRUNDY presented the memorial of Ambrose Casey; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. WALL presented the petition of Jacob Hall; which was referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. DAVIS presented a paper in relation to the comparative advantages of different kinds of lamps in light-houses; which was ordered to be printed.

Mr. HUBBARD, from the Committee on Claims, to which was referred

The petition of Richard Harris, and  
The petition of Jonathan Nye, asked to be discharged from their further consideration; which was agreed to.

Mr. H. also, from the same committee, to which had been referred the House bill for the relief of R. K. Call, reported in favor of its indefinite postponement. The report was ordered to be printed.

Mr. H. also, from the same committee, to which was referred the memorial of Preston Starrett, reported a bill for his relief; which was read, and ordered to a second reading, and the report was ordered to be printed.

The CHAIR submitted a message from the President of the United States, in compliance in part with a resolution of the Senate in relation to the bonds issued by the Territory of Florida; which was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

### EXPENSES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Also, a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 24th April, which was as follows:

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,  
May 4, 1840.

Sir: I have the honor to submit this report, in compliance with the following resolution passed by the Senate on the 24th ult.:

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury report to the Senate the aggregate amount of all the expenditures or payments of every kind from the Treasury in each year, from 1824 to 1839 inclusive, in one column, and in another column for each year the aggregate amount, independent of the payments on account of the public debt, whether funded or unfunded, and in a third column, the aggregate amount for permanent and ordinary purposes, excluding payments on accounts of objects either extraordinary or temporary; such as the public debt, trust funds and indemnities, claims of States for war debts or 3 per cents. on lands sold, occasional donations in money to objects in the District of Columbia or otherwise, survey of the coast, taking the census, duties refunded, the exploring expedition, and materials collected for the gradual improvement of the navy, durable public buildings of all kinds, bridges and fortifications, all roads, canals, breakwaters, and improvements in rivers and harbors, arming militia and forts, all pensions except those to invalids, and the purchases of title to lands from Indians, the removal of Indians, and their wars, with such other payments as may have been made in those years for property lost or injuries committed during any hostilities."

The resolution was on the same day referred to the Register of the Treasury, with instructions to prepare a tabular statement, containing the information desired in three separate columns. It is hereto annexed, marked A.

He was requested, also, to prepare another statement, showing the specific sum which had been deducted each year on account of each item mentioned in the resolution as either extraordinary or temporary.

Believing that this would be highly useful, as showing the details on which the general results in the third

column of the first statement rest, and as embracing many statistical facts, possessing in themselves much interest, I have annexed it, marked B.

Unless some accidental omission or other error has occurred, these two statements will present all the information desired by the resolution.

With high respect,

LEVI WOODBURY,  
Secretary of the Treasury.

To Hon. Rich. M. JOHNSON,  
Vice President of the United States, and  
President of the Senate.

A.  
STATEMENT of expenditures of the United States, from the year 1824 to the year 1839, inclusive, agreeably to a resolution of the Senate of the 24th of April, 1840.

Years.	Aggregate amount of all expenditures, or payments of every kind, from the Treasury.	Aggregate amount independent of the payments on account of the public debt, whether funded or unfunded.	Aggregate amount for permanent and ordinary purposes, excluding payments on account of objects either extraordinary or temporary.
1824	\$31,898,536 47	\$15,330,144 71	\$7,167,892 05
1825	22,585,804 79	11,490,459 94	6,537,671 27
1826	24,103,298 46	13,062,316 37	7,056,879 19
1827	22,656,764 04	12,653,065 05	7,427,175 78
1828	25,459,479 52	15,386,041 46	7,788,394 86
1829	25,044,358 40	16,660,460 09	7,503,904 46
1830	24,585,981 55	13,229,533 33	7,024,827 56
1831	30,038,446 12	13,861,067 80	7,679,412 66
1832	34,356,088 06	16,516,388 77	8,569,650 42
1833	34,357,998 49	22,713,755 11	8,827,085 77
1834	24,601,989 44	16,435,417 85	8,667,797 97
1835	17,573,141 56	17,514,980 86	9,157,490 32
1836	30,868,164 04	30,868,164 04	11,688,987 18
1837	37,265,637 15	37,243,214 08	13,098,321 83
1838	39,455,438 35	33,849,718 09	13,837,534 44
1839	37,129,386 80	35,082,797 75	13,325,800 18

\* Such as the public debt, trust funds, indemnities, claims of States for war debts, or three per cents on lands sold, occasional donations in money to objects in the District of Columbia, or otherwise, survey of the coast, taking the census, duties refunded, Exploring Expedition, and materials collected for the gradual improvement of the navy, including improvements at navy yards, durable public buildings of all kinds, bridges and fortifications, all roads, canals, breakwaters, and improvements in rivers and harbors, arming militia and forts, all pensions, except those to invalids, and the purchases of title to lands from Indians, (Indian Department), the removal of Indians and the wars, with such other payments as may have been made in those years for property lost, or injuries committed during any hostilities. None of these years or columns include any thing on account of the Post Office Department.

The expenditures of 1839 are subject to variation, on the settlement of the Treasurer's accounts for that year, which have not yet reached this office.

T. L. SMITH, Register.  
Register's Office, May 4, 1840.

B.  
STATEMENT of payments on account of objects either extraordinary or temporary, including the public debt, from 1824 to 1839.

Public debt	Trust funds	Indemnities	Claims of States for war debts	Three per cents on lands sold	Occasional donations in money to objects in Dist. of Columbia	Survey of the coast	Taking the census	Duties refunded	Exploring Expedition	Materials collected for the gradual improvement of the navy (including improvements at navy yards)	Durable public buildings of all kinds	Roads, canals, breakwaters, and improvements in rivers and harbors (except Cumberland road)	Arming militia and forts	All pensions, except those of invalids	Purchases of title to lands from Indians (Indian Dept)	Removal of Indians and the wars	Such other payments as may have been made for property lost or injuries committed during any hostilities, and other miscellaneous items of an extraordinary or temporary character
\$1,101,020 81	235,555 51	4,300,000 00	1,200,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00

\$1,101,020 81	235,555 51	4,300,000 00	1,200,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00	1,000,000 00
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\$11,041,092 19	\$10,073,098 39	\$12,163,498 07	\$12,283,897 78	\$11,255,748 22	\$15,117,478 22	\$17,840,200 39	\$15,139,343 26	\$17,176,565 19	\$18,101 96	\$11,020 81	\$1,200,000 00	\$1,000,000 00	\$1,000,000 00	\$1,000,000 00	\$1,000,000 00	\$1,000,000 00	\$1,000,000 00
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On motion of Mr. BENTON, the letter of the Secretary, and the tables, were ordered to be printed.

Mr. B. then rose to make another motion, and that was, to print an extra number of these papers. He proposed to give his reasons for the motion, and for that purpose, asked that the papers should be sent to him, (which was done); and Mr. B. went on to say that his object was to spread before the country, in an authentic form, the full view of all the Government expenses for a series of years past, going back as far as Mr. Monroe's



administration; and thereby enabling every citizen, in every part of the country, to see the actual, the comparative, and the classified expenditures of the Government for the whole period. This proceeding had become necessary, Mr. B. said, from the systematic efforts made for some years past, to impress the country with the belief that the expenditures had increased threefold in the last twelve years—that they had risen from THIRTEEN to THIRTY-NINE millions of dollars; and that this enormous increase was the effect of the extravagance, of the corruption, and of the incompetency of the Administrations which had succeeded that of Mr. Adams and Mr. Monroe. These two latter Administrations were held up as the models of economy; those of Mr. Van Buren and General Jackson were stigmatized as monsters of extravagance; and tables of figures were so arranged as to give color to the characters attributed to each. These systematic efforts—this reiterated assertion, made on this floor, of thirteen millions increased to thirty-nine—and the effect which such statements must have upon the minds of those who cannot see the purposes for which the money was expended, appeared to him (Mr. B.) to require some more formal and authentic refutation than any one individual could give—something more imposing than the speech of a solitary member could afford. Familiar with the action of the Government for twenty years past—coming into the Senate in the time of Mr. Monroe—remaining in it ever since—a friend to economy in public and in private life—and closely scrutinizing the expenditures of the Government during the whole time—he (Mr. B.) felt himself to be very able at any time to have risen in his place, and to have exposed the delusion of this thirteen and thirty-nine million bugbear; and, if he did not do so, it was because, in the first place, he was disinclined to bandy contradictions on the floor of the Senate; and, in the second place, because he relied upon the intelligence of the country to set all right whenever they obtained a view of the facts. This view he had made himself the instrument of procuring, and the Secretary of the Treasury had now presented it. It was ready for the contemplation of the American people; and he could wish every citizen to have the picture in his own hands, that he might contemplate it at his own fireside, and at his full leisure. He could wish every citizen to possess a copy of this report, now received from the Secretary of the Treasury, under the call of the Senate, and printed by its order; he could wish every citizen to possess one of these authentic copies, bearing the imprimatur of the American Senate; but that was impossible; and, limiting his action to what was possible, he would propose to print such number of extra copies as would enable some to reach every quarter of the Union. He knew that the report could easily go through the newspapers, (for it was very short,) and he hoped that it would appear in every paper that was a friend to truth and to fair dealing—that wished to give correct information to its readers. He hoped it would appear in all such papers; but that was not sufficient. The newspaper publications were not sufficiently free from cavil to answer his purpose; no publication could be sufficient but the one made by the order of the Senate; and, therefore, he wished the document itself to go forth, with the Senatorial imprimatur upon it, in sufficient numbers to reach every quarter of the Union. He wished a large number to be printed; but would not suggest any particular number until he had first given to the Senate some view of the papers themselves, and thus shown them to be worthy of the most ample multiplication, and of the most extensive diffusion.

Mr. B. then opened the tables, and explained their character and contents. The first one (marked A) consisted of three columns, and exhibited the aggregate, and the classified expenditures of the Government from the year 1824 to 1839, inclusive; the second one (marked B) contained the detailed statement of the payments annually made on account of all temporary or extraordinary objects, including the public debt, for the same period. The second table was explanatory of the third column of the first one; and the two, taken together, would enable every citizen to see the actual expenditures, and the comparative expenditures, of the Government for the whole period which he had mentioned.

Mr. B. then examined the actual and the comparative expenses of two of the years, taken from the two contrasted periods referred to, and invoked the attention of the Senate to the results which the comparison would exhibit. He took the first and the last of the years mentioned in the tables—the years 1824 and 1839—and began with the first item in the first column. This showed the aggregate expenditures for every object for the year 1824, to have been \$31,146,599 05—very near thirty-two millions of dollars, said Mr. B., and if stated alone, and without explanation, very capable of astonishing the public, of imposing upon the ignorant; and of raising a cry against the dreadful extravagance, the corruption, and the wickedness of Mr. Monroe's administration. Taken by itself, (and indisputably true it is in itself,) and this aggregate of near thirty-two millions is very sufficient to effect all this surprise and

indignation in the public mind; but, passing on to the second column to see what were the expenditures, independent of the public debt, and this large aggregate will be found to be reduced more than one-half; it sinks to \$15,330,144 71. This is a heavy deduction; but it is not all. Passing on to the third column, and it is seen that the actual expenses of the Government for permanent and ordinary objects, independent of the temporary and extraordinary ones, for this same year, were only \$7,107,892 05; being less than the one-fourth part of the aggregate of near thirty-two millions. This looks quite reasonable, and goes far towards believing Mr. Monroe's administration from the imputation to which a view of the aggregate expenditures for the year would have subjected it. But, to make it entirely satisfactory, and to enable every citizen to understand the important point of the Government expenditures—a point on which the citizens of a free and representative Government should be always well informed—to attain this full satisfaction, let us pass on to the second table (marked B) and fix our eyes on its first column, under the year 1824. We shall there find every temporary and extraordinary object, and the amount paid on account of it, the deduction of which reduced an aggregate of near thirty-two millions to a fraction over seven millions. We shall there find the explanation of the difference between the first and third columns. The first item is the sum of \$16,568,393 76, paid on account of the principal and interest of the public debt. The second is the sum of \$4,891,386 56, paid to merchants for indemnities under the treaty with Spain of 1819, by which we acquired Florida. The third is \$5,510 27 paid to States for claims on account of war debts. The fourth is \$47,714 53 for the three per cent. to the new States on the lands sold within their limits. The fifth is \$17,000 on account of the two per centum to the Cumberland road. The sixth is \$4,373 19 for the survey of the coast. The seventh is \$423,342 46 for collecting materials for the gradual increase of the navy, and the improvement of the navy yards. The eighth is \$180,309 67 for durable public buildings. The ninth is \$429,972 04 for bridges and fortifications. The tenth is \$56,955 09 for roads, canals, and breakwaters, and improvements in rivers and harbors, except the Cumberland road, which was stated by itself. The eleventh is \$171,155 43 for providing arms for the militia of the United States, and for arming the fortifications. The twelfth is \$1,267,600 41, for all pensions, except those of invalids. The thirteenth is \$429,987 90 for purchasing land from Indians, and paying for Indian depredations. The fourteenth and last item, is the sum of \$206,960 21 for miscellaneous objects, and for property lost, or injuries committed, during hostilities with any power. The total of all these items, except the public debt, is \$8,222,252 66. This total, added to the sum paid on account of the public debt, makes close upon twenty-five millions of dollars; and this deducted from the aggregate of near thirty-two millions, leaves a fraction over seven millions for the real expenses of the Government—the ordinary and permanent expenses—during the last year of Mr. Monroe's administration. This is certainly a satisfactory result. It exempts the Administration of that period from the imputation of extravagance, which the unexplained exhibition of the aggregate expenditures might have drawn upon it in the minds of uninformed persons. It clears that Administration from all blame. It must be satisfactory to every candid mind. And now let us apply the test of the same examination to some year of the present Administration, now so incontinently charged with ruinous extravagance. Let us see how the same rule will work when applied to the present period; and, for that purpose, let us take the last year in the table, that of 1839. Let others take any year that they please, or as many as they please: I take one, because I only propose to give an example; and I take the last one in the table, because it is the last. Let us proceed with this examination, and see what the results, actual and comparative, will be.

Commencing with the aggregate payments from the Treasury for all objects, Mr. B. said it would be seen at the foot of the first column in the first table, that they amounted to \$37,129,396 80; passing to the second column, and it would be seen that this sum was reduced to \$25,982,797 75; and passing to the third, and it would be seen that the latter sum was itself reduced to \$13,525,800 18; and referring to the second table, under the year 1839, and it would be seen how this aggregate of thirty-seven millions was reduced to thirteen and a half. It was a great reduction; a reduction of nearly two-thirds from the aggregate amount paid out; and left for the proper expenses of the Government—its ordinary and permanent expenses—an inconceivably small sum for a great nation of seventeen millions of souls, covering an immense extent of territory, and acting a part among the great powers of the world. To trace this reduction—to show the reasons of the difference between the first and the third columns, Mr. B. would follow the same process which he had pursued in explaining the expenditures of the year 1824, and ask for nothing in one case which had not been granted in the other.

1. The first item to be deducted from the thirty-seven million aggregate, was the sum of \$11,146,599 05, paid on account of the public debt. He repeated, on account of the public debt; for it was paid in redemption of Treasury notes; and these Treasury notes were so much debt incurred to supply the place of the revenue deposited with the States, in 1836, or shut up in banks during the suspension of 1837, or due from merchants, to whom indulgence had been granted. To supply the place of these unattainable funds, the Government went in debt by issuing Treasury notes; but faithful to the sentiment which abhorred a national debt, it paid off the debt almost as fast as it contracted it. Above eleven millions of this debt was paid in 1839, amounting to almost the one third part of the aggregate expenditure of that year; and thus, nearly the one third part of the sum which is charged upon the Administration as extravagance and corruption, was a mere payment of debt!—a mere payment of Treasury notes which we had issued to supply the place of our misplaced revenue. This item being deducted from the 37 millions, reduces it to 26.

2. The second item to be deducted is stated in the table under the description of trust funds; and consists of moneys received in trust for the Chickasaw Indians, and other Indians, on the sale of their lands, for which the United States act as their agent and treasurer. It amounts to near a quarter of a million, to wit, \$240,694 for the year 1839; but for the three preceding years averaged a million and a quarter, and contributed largely to swell the expenditures, as they were termed, of 1836, 1837, and 1838. This item had no existence in the year 1824; so that it becomes a new charge, apparently, upon the Treasury; but in reality no charge at all, as it was only delivered over to Indians the money which had been received for them, and belonged to them. Yet this item, amounting to nearly four millions in the last four years, is set down to the reckless extravagance of a mad and ruinous Administration.

3. The third item to be deducted is the sum of \$717,552 27, for indemnities; that is to say, for moneys recovered from foreign nations, under Gen. Jackson's Administration, for merchants who had been plundered under previous Administrations—whose money, when received, had gone into our Treasury, and was afterwards paid out to the rightful owners as their respective rights were ascertained. The payment for 1839 was near three quarters of a million; but for the three previous years they amounted in the whole to about five and a half millions; and, according to the accusation of the Opposition gentlemen, constituted so much of the horrid extravagance of those years! and here let us mark the difference between the present times and those of 1824. When, in that year, the sum of near five millions was paid out of the Treasury for indemnities to merchants under the Florida treaty, no one ever thought of making the people believe that it was a part of the expenses of the Government. No one ever thought of injuring the Administration about it. These conceptions have been reserved for the present day. Now, for the first time in the history of our country, or perhaps of any country, the recovery of indemnities from foreigners, and their payment to our own citizens, becomes a dreadful extravagance—a ruinous waste of money—for which a mad and profligate Administration must be thrust from power!

4. The fourth item is a small sum of \$4,875 50 for claims of States on account of expenditures for the general benefit during the late war. It was a payment of debt, and not an expense of Government, and though small in 1839, it had been considerable in the three preceding years, amounting in that time to about \$230,000; and, of course, swelling by that much the aggregate expenditures of those years, and helping to make up the monstrous extravagance of which the country heard so much.

5. The next item grows out of the three per centum fund to the new States on the amount of the lands sold within their limits. It is due to the States by compact, as a consideration, and a most inadequate one it is, for not taxing the Federal lands. For the year 1839, this item amounted to \$63,670; and, being a debt due to the States, is no part of the Government expenses. For the three previous years, when the land sales were at the largest, and when some of the States had neglected for some years to draw their money, the payments on this account amounted to near one and a half millions of dollars; and, of course, swelled to that amount the extravagance of 1836, '37, and '38! In the year 1824, this item was only \$47,714.

6. The sixth item to be deducted was nearly allied to the former. It was \$198,530 for the two per centum on the sales of the public lands to make roads to the new States, and applicable to the Cumberland road.—In the year 1824 it was only \$17,000; but in the great sales of 1835, '6, and '7, it amounted to near \$1,200,000. Here again was a payment of a debt converted into wasteful extravagance!

7. Donations of money to, or payments on account of, the District of Columbia, was the seventh item of deduction which Mr. B. mentioned. It amounted to



\$126,374 for the year 1839. It was a new item in the list of Government payments, having no existence in 1824, nor until the year 1832. After that time it had been annual, and as high as \$313,000 in one year, to wit, 1833, and for the years 1836, '7, and '8, amounted to near \$440,000. It was a gratuity to the District, which had no political rights; and it was a gratuity which had no other object than to relieve it from burthens improvidently contracted; yet received the usual character of corrupt extravagance.

8. The survey of the coast was the eighth item which Mr. B. explained. It was a temporary and extraordinary object, which had grown up from a trifle to a large amount within a few years past, and amounted to \$9,995 for the year 1839. Previous to Gen. Jackson's administration it rarely exceeded two thousand dollars per annum; for the years 1835-7 and 8, it amounted to about \$220,000.

9. Duties refunded to merchants was another of the new and large items which had lately grown up among our Treasury payments. From 1824 to 1832, it was unknown; yet in 1839, it was \$179,304; in the year 1833, it was \$701,000, and for 1836-7, and 8, it amounted to above \$800,000. This was a favor, or an act of justice to merchants, granted by acts of Congress, or by judicial decisions, or by reversal of previous constructions of the laws. It is no part of the Government expenditure, though, being refunded from the Treasury into the enumeration to swell the general aggregate—to swell the cry of extravagance—and to prove the hostility of the Administration to merchants!

10. A tenth item to be deducted was the sum of \$714,857 for collecting materials for the increase of the navy. This was an expenditure for the future defence of the country, and averaged about \$800,000 per annum since the commencement of Gen. Jackson's administration, though only \$423,000 in 1824. It is clearly no part of the expenses of Government, but an outlay of money for the benefit of after years, and of posterity.

11. Permanent public buildings is another of the large items of recent expenditure. Formerly these buildings were of perishable materials, and sunk under the decay of time, or the ravages of fire; for some years past durable materials had been selected, and fireproof edifices constructed. The expenditure for this purpose in 1839, was \$1,248,044, and near the same for the three preceding years. This again was an expenditure for the benefit of posterity, and not chargeable as an expense upon the actual administrations.

12. The sum of \$735,570 for bridges and fortifications, was the twelfth item which Mr. B. pointed out for deduction, being both of them expenditures for the benefit of posterity; the expenditure extraordinary and temporary, but the benefit general and permanent.

13. The sum of \$1,491,000 for the improvement of rivers, harbors, and roads, exclusive of the Cumberland road, was another expenditure of the same character. In 1824, it was but \$56,955; but took a start then which would have known no bounds had it not been for the Maysville veto.

14. Providing arms for the militia of the States and cannon for the forts is another expenditure for future times and for posterity. It amounted to \$474,906 for 1839, and averaged above half a million a year for each of the three preceding years. In 1824, it was but \$171,155.

15. Pensions except those to invalids, was the next item noted by Mr. B. for deduction. They were gratuities from the Treasury, and not an expense of Government. They amounted in 1839 to \$3,033,764, being near three times what they were in 1824. They had been an enormous drain upon the Treasury for the last seven years, amounting in 1833 to \$4,485,000, and subsequently averaging about half that sum.

16. Purchase of lands from Indians was another large item to be deducted, and which had vastly increased of late. In 1824, this head of expenditure only amounted to \$429,987; in 1839 it was \$1,708,123; in 1836 it was as high as three millions; in 1837, \$2,484,000; and in 1838, it was \$4,603,518. These were heavy expenditures, incurred for the great object of relieving all the States from the incumbrance of an Indian population; but though heavy, it is not money gone from the Treasury never to return to it. It all returns, and with profit, in the sale of the lands acquired; yet the vast sums paid on this head, is cited against us as ruinous extravagance, for which the Goths should be driven from the Capitol!

17. Removal of Indians and their wars was another item nearly connected with the last, and subject to the same remarks. It had grown up of late, and was directed to the good of the States. In 1824 it was nothing; in 1839 it was \$1,775,914. In the three preceding years it was, respectively, in round numbers, \$6,000,000, \$6,500,000, and \$5,500,000. This is one of the largest heads of increased expenditure in recent years, and one of the most indispensable for the States of the South and West. It is appurtenant to the purchase of the Indian lands, and, although large, yet the sales of the lands will far more than reimburse it.

18. And, finally, Mr. B. noted the sum of \$232,369 for miscellaneous objects, not reducible to a precise head, which swelled the list of expenditures, without belonging to the expenses of the Government.

19. The Exploring Expedition was the last of the items. It was of recent origin, amounting to \$97,968 in 1839, and to about \$560,000 for the three preceding years.

These are the eighteen heads of extraordinary expenditure, said Mr. B., and the amount expended for each; and now let gentlemen of the Opposition say for which of these they did not vote, to which they now object, and for which they will not vote again at this session?

With this view of the tabular statements Mr. B. closed the examination of the items of expenditure, and stated the result to be a reduction of the 37 million aggregate in 1836, like that of the 32 million aggregate in 1824, to about one-third of its amount. The very first item, that of the payment of public debt in the redemption of Treasury notes, reduced it 11 millions of dollars: it sunk it from 37 millions to 26. The other eighteen items amounted to \$12,656,977, and reduced the 26 millions to 134. Here then is a result which is attained by the same process which applies to the year 1824; and to every other year, and which is right in itself, and which must put to flight and to shame all the attempts to excite the country with this bugbear story of extravagance. In the first place the aggregate expenditures have not increased threefold in fifteen years; they have not risen from 13 to 39 millions, as incontinently asserted by the Opposition; but from 32 millions to 37 or 39. And how have they risen? By paying last year 11 millions for Treasury notes, and more than 12 millions for Indian lands, and wars, removals of Indians, and increase of the army and navy, and other items as enumerated. The result is a residuum of 134 millions for the real expenses of the Government; a sum 14 millions short of what gentlemen proclaim would be an economical expenditure. They all say that 15 millions would be an economical expenditure: very well! here is 134! which is a million and a half short of that mark.

The authentic tables show that the aggregate expenditures for 1824, came within five millions of those of 1829; consequently that, without a deduction for extraordinary expenditures, the charge of extravagance, waste, ruin, profligacy, &c., might have been raised against the Administration of that day, and some uninformed persons excited against it by a groundless clamor; yet no one thought of raising such a clamor in 1824. No one then thought of charging, as extravagance, payments on account of the public debt, and for indemnities to merchants, and other extraordinary expenses. Then all parties made the proper deductions for payments either temporary or extraordinary in their nature. No one sought to mystify or to impose upon the ignorant. No one thought of palming a story of thirty-two millions upon the country as the expenses of the country. All that has been reserved for the present times; it has been reserved for our day; and may have been attended for a while with the ephemeral success which crowns for a moment the petty arts of delusion practised upon the ignorant. But the day for this delusion has gone by. The classified tables, now presented, will reach every citizen, and will clear up every doubt. They will enable every citizen to see every item of expenditure—to judge it himself—and to demand of the Opposition gentlemen, if they did not vote for it themselves, and if they now object to it? Taking the extraordinary items as they rise, and beginning with the first, the sum of eleven millions paid for redemption of Treasury notes; and it cannot be demanded if that payment was not right? and so on through the whole list, amounting to twelve and a half millions. The ordinary and permanent expenses, amounting to thirteen and a half millions, no one objects to: all admit that that sum is a million and a half within the mark of meritorious economy. It is on the extraordinary—it is on the difference between thirteen and a half and thirty-seven millions—that the attack is made; and now we produce these extraordinary items. We give a list of them, item by item, with the amount paid on account of each; and call upon the gentlemen of the Opposition to name the one to which they object? to name the one for which they did not vote? This is what we do; and I will tell you, Mr. President, what they will do: they will not name one item to which they now object, or against which they voted! They will not name one; and the reason is, because they cannot! They voted for all—they approve all—the country will approve all, except part for pensions and harbors, and of these the Opposition were the leading advocates. And thus these gentlemen of the Opposition are presented in the extraordinary light of going abroad to make a general denunciation of the Administration for extravagant expenditure; and when we show them the bill of particulars, and ask of them to point out the extravagant items, or the ones for which they did not vote, they will remain silent! They will name no item, because they cannot.

Mr. B. said, that this Administration, and that of Gen. Jackson, were ready for a comparison with any

that preceded them. Aggregates against aggregates, or items against items, they were ready for the comparison. If any one shall say that the expenses of the Government were thirty-seven millions in 1839, or thirty-nine millions in 1838, we answer that this is only five or seven millions more than the aggregate of 1824; that the aggregate was then thirty-two millions, and the increase is only in proportion to the increase of the country. If, descending from aggregates and going into items, it is said that sixteen millions must be deducted from the aggregate of 1832 for payments to the public debt, and eight millions more for indemnities and other extraordinary items, we answer that eleven millions must be deducted from the aggregate of 1839 for redemption of Treasury notes, and twelve and a half millions more for Indian wars, treaties, and removals, and a dozen other extraordinary items. This brings the thirty-seven down to thirteen and a half; and at that point complaint ceases.

Mr. B. said that the tables which were presented treated every Administration alike. Beginning in the last year of Mr. Monroe, they came down through the term of Mr. Adams, and the two terms of General Jackson; and the three years which had elapsed under Mr. Van Buren. All were treated alike. The same rule was applied to the expenditures under each one. The aggregate was given in every case first; and then the extraordinary, separated from the ordinary expenditures, and the same items charged and credited in every case. In looking at the aggregates, it will be seen that every Administration needed this classification; that the aggregate under Mr. Adams's administration was not thirteen millions, as repeated so many millions of times, but about the double of that; and that this thirteen millions for that gentleman's administration was only attained by deducting extraordinary items by going through the very process which reduces the expenditure under Mr. Van Buren to thirteen and a half millions. The smallest aggregate in the whole table is that of 1835, under Gen. Jackson's administration, when the public debt had ceased, and the Indian wars had not begun. The aggregate for that year is seventeen millions and a half. Even including the extraordinary items of that year, and the aggregate was but seventeen millions and a half! And so it will be again. As soon as we are done paying the Treasury notes, which are issued in lieu of our misplaced revenue, and so soon as our Indian troubles are over, and the payments completed for removal of Indians, and purchase of their lands, the aggregate expenditures will come down to about what they were in 1835; and the ordinary expenses will be within fifteen millions.

Mr. B. demanded who ever deemed it an expense of the Government, when Mr. Jefferson purchased Louisiana at fifteen millions of dollars? And who could think of charging as an expense the large sums which had been lately paid in extinguishing Indian titles, and in removing Indians? One would as soon think of charging, among the expenses of a family, the outlay which should be made by a prudent and thrifty farmer in purchasing additional land, and inclosing it with fences, or covering it with improvements. The extinction of the Indian titles—the acquisition of their lands for settlement and cultivation—and the removal of the Indian themselves from all the States, was one of the great measures which illustrated General Jackson's administration, and was beneficial both to the Indians and to the States. So great an object could not be effected without a large expenditure of money; and who is there now to stand up and condemn the Administration for this expenditure? Who wants these Indians back? Who wants Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and all the other States, again incumbered with the Indians which have left them?

That the expenses of the Government had increased in the last twelve or fifteen years, Mr. B. said, was just as certainly true as it was naturally to have been expected. The country itself had increased in that time: several new States had been admitted into the Union, and several new Territories had been created. An additional impetus had been given to the public defences in the increase of the army and navy—wars with several Indian tribes had intervened—vast purchases of Indian lands had been effected—whole tribes, nay, whole nations of Indians, had been removed, and removed to a vast distance, and at a vast expense. This latter expenditure was chiefly for the benefit of the South and West; but where is the man in any quarter of the Union that can stand up and condemn it?

Sir, I admit an increased expenditure; and, far from concealing, I exhibit and proclaim it. I display the items; they are spread out in the statements now under discussion; I point them out to the country. I say they will be found, principally, in the navy—in the army—in the Indian department—in the pensions—in the light house establishment—in Indian wars—in the defence of the frontiers, North and West—in fortifications—in preparing arms and munitions of war—in the legislative department—in permanent and durable fire-proof public buildings—and in assuming the foreign debt, and making other expenditures for the District of Columbia. In



these branches of the service will the increases be principally found, and I supported them all except the increase for pensions, harbors, some of the light houses, and the book-printing part of the legislative expenses. I supported all except these; but the gentlemen of the Opposition supported all that I did, and these besides; and now go forth to raise a cry of extravagance!

Mr. B. said, the Opposition not only voted for these increased expenditures, but in some instances greatly augmented them. This was the case in the Indian expenditures, and especially among the Cherokees. The Opposition set themselves up as the guardians of these Indians; they seemed to make political alliance with them. The Indians became parties to our politics: the Opposition became allies to them; and the result was double trouble, and double expense, and double delays, and double vexation of every kind with those Indians; until it required a military force to compel them to comply with treaties which gave them millions more than they ought to have received!

The Opposition not only voted for all the increases, and caused some of them to be augmented, but they attempted many enormous expenditures which the Democratic members opposed and prevented. Let any one look to the bills which were rejected, either in the Senate or in the House of Representatives; let any one look to the number of these bills, and the tens of millions, in the aggregate, with which they were freighted, and then say what the expenses would have been if the Opposition had been in power. One of these bills alone, the French spoliation bill, was for five millions of dollars; others were for vast sums, especially the harbor bills. They were rejected by the votes of Democratic members; and if they had not been—if they had passed—they would have swelled the thirty-seven to near fifty millions; and would have been charged upon us as reckless, wasteful, horrible extravagance.

Mr. B. said that financial statements were a difficult subject to handle—hard for a speaker to understand himself, and harder still to make himself be understood by others. It was a point at which the most unfounded impressions might be made on the public mind—on which the greatest errors might be propagated. Yet it was a point on which correct information should be disseminated—on which every citizen should be informed—which every one should make it his business to understand. Economy should be the cardinal virtue of a free Government, and the whole body of the citizens should be the guardians of that virtue. They should guard the national finances; and for that purpose should understand them. They should know how much money was raised for that purpose, and how expended. They could not be too jealous of the misapplication of the public moneys; they could not scrutinize too closely the public accounts. Those accounts could not be too often presented to them, nor in form too simple and obvious. It has been my endeavor, said Mr. B., both in calling for the statements which had just come in from the Treasury, and in what I have said upon them, to present the difficult subject of our finances in a plain, obvious, and intelligible form. My object has been to elucidate, and not to mystify—to enlighten, and not to confuse. I have endeavored to present a full, plain, and authentic statement of the public expenditures; such as every citizen can see and comprehend. Our adversaries present an aggregate—rush at the passions, and endeavor to alarm, or to enrage, the people. I present the particulars, and ask for their deliberate judgment. Sir, I have confidence in the capacity of my countrymen. I have confidence in their capacity for self-government; in their moral and intellectual capacity for governing themselves—for sustaining and carrying on the frame of Government which our ancestors provided for us. I believe that my fellow-citizens possess the requisite qualities for self-government—judgment to understand—virtue to choose—and patriotism to sustain—the principles and the measures which are best for themselves. I do not believe in the monarchical idea that the people are ignorant, venal, factious, that they have no enlightened views of men or measures; that reason, truth, and sound argument, are lost upon them, as pearls thrown to the swine; that the only way to govern them is to bamboozle and debauch them. I believe in none of these monarchical opinions, and have never practised upon them. I have never addressed myself to the supposed ignorance, venality, faction, or caprice of my countrymen, but always to their intelligence, virtue, and patriotism. The argumentum ad ignorantiam has had no place in my speeches: the argumentum ad judicium has been my aim. I cannot say that I have spoken with judgment; but I can affirm that I have always paid my countrymen the compliment of speaking to their accredited judgment—never to their supposed folly. I have spoken to the rational minds, to the virtuous hearts, and to the lofty, generous and patriotic feelings of my countrymen; and I am too well content with the effect which this plan of speaking has had to change it now. Facts and reasons are my materials—simplicity my style. Away with exordium—away with peroration—away with holiday phrases—away with theatrical display—away with all figures,

but figures of arithmetic; and of these I give many, and never more than in this short speech. This has been my plan of speaking, and this it is now. I have procured plain statements to be made out, and have delivered a plain speech upon them. I have endeavored to make myself intelligible on a subject in which intelligibility is somewhat difficult—on which it is easy for the speaker to get both himself and his hearers into a fog. I have aimed at perspicuity, and flatter myself that I have been understood. I wish the country to judge the expenditures of the Government—the particulars as well as the aggregate—and therefore place the whole before the public. Our adversaries attack the aggregate: Let them examine the particulars, and name the one to which they object, and for which they did not vote.

Mr. B. then appealed to Senators of the Democratic party to name the number of extra copies of the report which they would propose to print, professing himself ready to agree to any number that was satisfactory to his friends.

Mr. HUBBARD proposed thirty thousand.

Mr. BENTON accepted the proposition, and moved that thirty thousand extra copies of the report be printed for the use of the Senate.

This motion gave rise to a very interesting and animated discussion in which Messrs. BROWN, HUBBARD, CALHOUN, and BUCHANAN, advocated, and Messrs. PRESTON, SOUTHARD, CLAY of Ky., and WEBSTER, opposed the motion, and a sketch of which will be given on an early day.

The question being then on printing thirty thousand extra copies of the report, it was agreed to—ayes 22, noes 14, as follows:

*Yeas*—Messrs. Allen, Anderson, Benton, Brown, Buchanan, Calhoun, Clay of Alabama, Cuthbert, Fulton, Hubbard, King, Lumpkin, Nicholas, Norvell, Pierce, Roane, Robinson, Sevier, Sturgeon, Wall, Williams, and Wright—22.

*Nays*—Messrs. Clay of Kentucky, Clayton, Davis, Dixon, Henderson, Knight, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Ruggles, Southard, Tallmadge, Webster, and White—14.

The Senate then adjourned.

#### POLITICAL.

The Pennsylvania does itself considerable injustice in noticing an article which appeared in this paper a few days since. It does it with a disingenuousness we did not expect to find there. We spoke of General Harrison's "poverty" in a comparative view. No man owning a good farm, clear of all incumbrances, can be called positively poor in this country. But surely when contrasted with the opportunities of General Harrison has had for acquiring splendid wealth, his present situation may be called that of a poor man. As for the trumpery story of his drawing a large salary from his official station in Cincinnati, after the positive contradictions of it, which have been made by those entitled to the highest degree of respect, it is unworthy of a paper which has a proper degree of self respect to re-issue it.—*North American*.

Disingenuousness! It will puzzle the North American to prove the charge. There could not have been much disingenuousness about the matter, when we copied the North American's "poverty" article at the time of replying to it, so that the reader could see both sides, and this, we take it, was not a disingenuous process by any means, nor one likely to be resorted to, if the answer was intended to be unfair. If there is any "disingenuousness" on either side, it lies, we think, at our neighbor's door; for, in looking over the poverty article aforesaid, we do not find one word about comparative poverty—not a syllable calculated to convey the impression that such was the writer's meaning. It was a downright electioneering paragraph, claiming credit for General Harrison, not because he was comparatively poor, but, so far as one's meaning can be gathered from words, because he was positively poor. It was filled with such phrases as "the poverty of General Harrison"—"because he is poor"—"still remains poor"—"the fact of his poverty"—all without qualification, and all within the compass of a paragraph of twelve lines. Where is the disingenuousness?

The North American, we are pleased to find, admits that Harrison is not so very poor after all, for the ownership of a good farm is not positive poverty. Might not "ingenuousness" have gone a little further in this matter, without doing itself harm, and have stated what it considered a good farm? The comparatively poor man lives in a large and splendid mansion on the banks of the Ohio, in the midst of a princely estate of 2,000 acres, worth, as the Cincinnati Advertiser informs us, about \$100,000—a comparatively good farm this.

Now for the "trumpery story," as our cotemporary politely terms it, about Harrison's large salary as Clerk of the Hamilton County Court—his official income of \$6,000. The North American says that the fact has been denied. Will it tell us when, where, and by whom? Will it produce the authentic denial? We find the assertion that such is the amount of his pay, repeated in a Cincinnati paper published within a week, the editor of which probably knows all about the matter, and who, in the face of statements to the contrary, would scarcely have ventured to reiterate the assertion, unless very sure of his ground. He makes no allusion to any denial, and we have never seen or heard of such a thing, with the exception of what is said in the North American; and, as the existence of the "Confiden-

tial Committee" also was for a time "said to be denied," but at last confessed, we do not think it is any violation of "self-respect" to continue to believe that the North American's "comparatively poor man" is tolerably well off in his extensive mansion, in his valuable estate of 2,000 acres, both of which came to him by marriage, without any outlay on his part, and in his \$6,000 a year.

If it is still claimed that Harrison is comparatively poor, it may be important for those who wish to know what is poverty and what is riches, to learn that Harrison has actually received from the United States in the way of salary, about seventy-five thousand dollars, this being apart from the emoluments of his clerkship, which he has held about ten years.

We do not make these allusions to Harrison's personal affairs with any view to his disparagement. We have yet to learn that it is discreditable to become wealthy by proper means, and, to our view, it is the vilest of electioneering to endeavor to excite prejudice against men merely because they have ample resources, and live in corresponding style. The subject would not have been worth alluding to at all, were it not that the Opposition press are eternally urging it as a recommendation of their candidate, that he is poor, comparatively poor. Men's views on this matter differ perhaps; we should call him rich, positively rich; or if he is embarrassed in his circumstances, notwithstanding the wealth poured into his lap, and without being deeply engaged in hazardous business or subjected to sudden reverses, we repeat our first observation, that it does not argue much for his capacity, or fitness to manage his own affairs.—*Pennsylvanian*.

(From the same.)

MR. SALTONSTALL, ONE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CLUB OF FEDERALISTS.

It will be seen, that this gentleman, in his speech today, did not deny his thorough identification with the Hartford Convention, as charged and proved by Mr. Parmenter, his colleague. So far from this, he boldly advocated the course of that treasonable body. He declared that it was as innocent as the late Harrisburg Convention, or the convention of the same party held on the 22d February at Columbus!! Mr. Saltonstall vindicated the course of the Federal party during the war—said they acted on principle!—that they proceeded on the apprehension of Napoleon's dangerous strides towards universal dominion. The meaning of this is not difficult of solution. Federalists would not aid their own Government in a struggle with Great Britain, because they would not weaken that power on which they relied to put down the French Emperor. This, doubtless, was one of the reasons, but the immediate motive was the overthrow of a Democratic Administration by the British power, and the installation of Federalism. Mr. Saltonstall was one of the committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, which brought in the resolution for holding the Hartford Convention, and this man is now conspiring the overthrow of a Democratic Administration, in conjunction with Botts, Bell, Rice Garland, Corwin, Grinnell, Clark and Smith, comprising a club acting in secret as an Executive Committee for the Federal party, as during the war he acted with the members of the Hartford Convention, and was prepared to set up a sectional power in New England, to throw off the control of the Government of the Union, if it failed to bring it under subjection to the foreign sway, which would surrender it to a Federal Administration. Of this Executive Committee of eight, let it be remembered that six voted against the rejection of Abolition petitions. Of these six, one was Mr. Saltonstall, who voted, among other objects to be effectuated by the Hartford Convention, that "they should take measures, if they should think proper, for procuring a convention of delegates from all the U. S., in order to revise the Constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of all the people, by placing all upon the basis of fair representation."

The report which accompanied this resolution, (both of which, as one of the committee, Mr. Saltonstall aided in preparing, and, as a member of the Legislature, voted for,) boldly argues the propriety of co-operation among the New England States to effect a change in the Constitution; and one of the members, Mr. Blake, said, "he hoped in God that the State would rise in opposition to the General Government—that it was time to break off all connection with the General Government, and another political year would terminate the political compact. HE WAS READY TO EXCHANGE OUR CONSTITUTION FOR THAT OF G. BRITAIN—MONARCHY AND ALL."

This man was one of the party of which Mr. Saltonstall was a leader—and Mr. Saltonstall now leads the junto of Federalists at Washington, as he led the Essex Junto at Boston, when it conspired the overthrow of the Union.

(From the Globe.)  
CURIOUS DIALOGUE.

SCENE.—"A Log Cabin"—"Hard Cider" written beside the door with chalk—the same words on a red flag fixed to a pole on the top—half a dozen empty cider barrels about the door—and three men in dandy dresses and ruffled shirts walking to and fro in front.  
John C. Wright.—More impertinence, I suppose.—When will the blockheads be done coming?



## ENTER A HOOSIER FARMER.

*Hoosier.*—Good morning, strangers. Is Gen. Harrison at home?

*David Gwynne.*—Yes. Do you want to see him?

*Hoo.*—Yes—I am one of his old soldiers, and now living on a farm of my own in Indiana.

*Wright.*—You can't see him. Don't you see the string of the latch is pulled in?

*Hoo.*—Thunder it is! He told us, if we'd call and see him, we "shouldn't find the string of the door latch pulled in."

*Wright.*—He was not the Federal candidate for President then.

*Hoo.*—Well, what of that? Because he is a candidate, I have come 20 miles out of my way to see him; for I want to ask him a few questions.

*O. M. Spencer.*—Well, well, tell us what the questions are.

*Hoo.*—Some of the people up our way say he's an Abolitionist, and some say he ain't—some say he's a Bank man, and some say he ain't—and so it goes. So I just thought I'd come and ask him.

*Gwynne.*—The General has heretofore made known his principles in various letters and speeches. Why don't you read them?

*Hoo.*—I have read them; and some seem to be on one side, and some on t'other. So I thought, to be certain, I'd come and ask the old General plump. Let me rap.

*Wright.*—No, no! You can't see him—he's very busy.

*Hoo.*—Very busy! Is he too busy to see one of the sovereigns, and answer a few questions?

*Wright.*—Yes; he's qualifying himself for the Presidency.

*Hoo.*—How so?

*Wright.*—Drinking hard cider, to be sure—don't you see the empty barrels? Huzza for the hard cider candidate!

*Gwynne.*—Hark ye, friend, are you a friend of Gen. Harrison?

*Hoo.*—If I hadn't been his friend, I reckon I wouldn't have come so far out of my way to see him.

*Gwynne.*—Well, well; his friends ought not to ask him questions, because his answers might do him harm. You know he can't be elected without the votes of the Abolitionists; and if he were to say he was opposed to them, he would lose their votes, and if he should say he was in favor of their plan, he would lose Kentucky and thousands of votes every where.

*Hoo.*—Do you mean to say that the General means to keep his opinions to himself, and so cheat one side or t'other?

*Gwynne.*—O, my dear Sir, it is not the General, but *we*, "his confidential committee." If it is wrong, "you will attribute the error rather to ourselves and his immediate advisers, than Gen. Harrison." We have determined "that the General make no further declaration of his principles for the public eye, whilst occupying his present position."

*Hoo.*—The devil you have! And has the General agreed to this?

*Gwynne.*—Certainly, or we should not be stationed here to keep off enquirers.

*Hoo.*—And you are authorized to answer for the General?

*Gwynne.*—To be sure we are.

*Hoo.*—Will you be so good, then, as to tell me, plump and plain, whether Gen. Harrison is an Abolitionist or not?

*Gwynne.*—My dear sir, you mistake. We are not put here to answer questions for the old General, but only to prevent him from answering. All the answer that we give is, that it is not politic for him to answer. Come, come; you are a friend of Harrison; you should treat him with a "generous confidence," and believe he will make a good President, without troubling yourself about his principles.

*Hoo.*—Snag me, if I can stand this! I always thought the old Chief was wrong in taking the advice of the Indians as to where he should encamp at Tippecanoe; but I'll be turned into a turkey-buzzard, if he haint made a roaring sight of a worse mistake now. If he gets out of your hands as well as he got out of the Indians', he will be a confounded sight better off than I think he will. You have shot him up there, and won't let him speak a word to the people about his sentiments, and you go hurraing "log cabin candidate," "hard cider candidate," as if you thought the people cared nothing for their country or their principles, but would vote for any dumb brute that lives in a log cabin and drinks hard cider! I'll tell you what, no old soldier or farmer either will vote for a man for President, or any thing else in this free country, who puts himself into the hands of keepers to keep the people away from him, or refuses to answer their reasonable questions, though he may get drunk on "hard cider."

"Hard cider," to be sure! Why, you are every day fools, strangers, to think the people such fools. Them's my sentiments, and I reckon the General won't get a vote on Coon creek this hitch. *[Exit Farmer.]*

*Wright.*—A George Kremer of a fellow, that.

*Gwynne.*—Mr. Wright, this is an ugly business; but any thing is better than to let the poor old fellow speak for himself.

*All three.*—Hurra for the "hard cider" candidate, the hero of jugs, mugs, barrels, and Tippecanoe!

*Gen. Harrison within.*—More "hard cider," Wright. *[Curtain falls.]*

## LETTER OF COL. E. M. JOHNSON.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, April 25, 1840.

Gentlemen: The near approach of the National Democratic Convention in Baltimore, on the 5th of May, induces me to address you. The object of that meeting is to nominate candidates for the next election of President and Vice President of the United States. In relation to the Presidency, I am happy to find it is universally understood, that there will be no division. The leading and only point in which any discussion is anticipated, is that of the Vice Presidency.

From the situation in which I am now placed, it seems to be proper, that my sentiments and views should be definitely known. The first question will be, whether the Convention will go into the nomination.

On this point, it is said, there will be a difference of opinion. Whether the Convention shall make a nomination, or leave it to each State to make its own selection, I wish my friends to understand distinctly, that that will be a matter with which I am not to interfere. I will be perfectly satisfied with the course the Convention shall adopt; and, in any event, must beg of them, not to suffer any feelings of partiality for me, to endanger the principles which we are united in sustaining. My sentiment has ever been, that in a Republic, no citizen has any claims upon the people, to election for any office, irrespective of the benefit and advantage resulting to themselves. All offices ought to be for the good of the people, and not for the incumbents. If special services ever merit special rewards, those rewards should be given in any other way, than that which would endanger the great fundamental principles of liberty.

To regard a highly responsible elective office, as a reward for past services, is to regard the elective franchise as forestalled by the claim of justice; and, it is therefore repugnant to Republican principle. If such claim may be urged in favor of any other, on any occasion, I am conscious, that my humble services merit nothing beyond what they have already received. So far as past services have elicited the principles of the man, they will be regarded as a pledge for his future course; and beyond this, they ought not to be considered, especially in relation to myself.

There rests no obligation on the part of my friends to me. The debt of gratitude, if it ever existed, has been more than paid. All the obligation that remains, is from me to them. The confidence which they have manifested, and the kindness shown to me, have imposed an obligation of gratitude in my bosom, which I can never cancel. There is, at this time, a great interest at stake. It is the support of the principles in which we are united, and upon which the Government has long been administered. Those principles have been my guide for more than 35 years, during which time, I have been continually afloat upon the tempestuous sea of political life. They are much more dear to me, than my own elevation, or that of any other person. I desire all of my friends in the Convention, to regard their preservation as infinitely more important than the qualification of any private friendship.

I have not solicited a re-nomination, nor shall I decline it. I am, as I ever have been, in the hands of friends and fellow-citizens. It is no less my pleasure than it is my duty to make the avowal, that I wish to be entirely at their disposal, and shall be perfectly content with their award. If, in their opinion, the great principles for which we contend, will be more likely to be secured by the use of my name, they will use it;—if, in their opinion, another selection will be more likely to ensure success, they will make another selection. If, in their opinion, to make no nomination of a Vice President, and leave the selection to the pleasure and preference of the Republicans of the several States, will give most strength to our friends, the convention will take that course; and in either event, I shall continue to act with perfect integrity, to those principles, and to the friends with whom I have hitherto acted in sustaining them. In assuming this position, I do not wish to be understood as declaring myself insensible to the honours which arise from public confidence. I can regard the man but a misanthrope, who is perfectly indifferent to the applause or the censure of his fellow-men. It is a quality to which I make no pretension. Next to my own conscience, the many testimonials, which I have received of the approbation of my fellow-citizens, is the richest reward for my past services, to which my ambition ever aspired; and this feeling has been the principal cause, for some years past, of my continuance in public life. It is also my greatest consolation, that in my present situation, while it has been my constant effort to discharge its responsible duties with fidelity, I have so far succeeded, at least, as to have avoided censure. I have heard of no disposition to make a different selection on the

ground, that these duties are not satisfactorily performed. But, dearer than all these considerations, are the principles involved in the approaching election. They ought to be sustained without regard to any individual partialities, or feelings, and, under this conviction, I hope my friends will feel a perfect freedom of action in the Convention.

It is with sentiments, such as I have expressed, and under an earnest desire that the labors of the Convention may tend to the advancement and success of our cherished principles in the pending contest, that I have felt constrained to address to you this hasty letter.—You will, of course, feel at perfect liberty to make such use of it as shall, in your judgments, be calculated to promote harmony in the Convention, and give strength to our cause throughout our beloved country.

Most respectfully, your friend and fellow-citizen,

RH. M. JOHNSON.

The Honorable Linn Boyd, and the Honorable William O. Butler, members of Congress from Kentucky, and Delegates to the Baltimore Convention.

*(From the Globe.)*

## THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

The Convention friendly to the present Administration, which met at Baltimore on the 5th of May, to recommend candidates at the next election for President and Vice President, having adjourned after declining to nominate for the Vice Presidency, I consider myself authorized to interfere in that question so far as I have been made personally interested in it.

The Union party in Georgia, which did me the honor very unexpectedly, to make an unconditional nomination of me for that office, last year, had the kindness, in conformity to my wishes, to change that nomination into an expression of preference, and to refer the subject to the decision of those who were expected, fairly representing their political friends, to decide upon it.

No decision having been made, union and concert of action are not now to be anticipated. According to the present state of things, no friend of the Administration can hope for an election by the people. The more fortunate can be thrown only high enough on the electoral poll to secure the chance of being chosen by the Senate. Whoever succeeds, then, will occupy his place with the perfect knowledge that he owes his elevation to the partiality of a fragment of his own party, and holds it against the decision of a majority of his fellow-citizens.

Withhold the sustaining power of public approbation, and the honor and emoluments of public office in all free countries, and particularly in this, are put poor recompenses for the labor performed, the responsibilities incurred, and the gross misrepresentations inevitably encountered in fulfilling its duties. During a large and not unsuccessful public career, I have never yet been placed in a situation to doubt that the position I occupied was agreeable to the wishes of the great majority of those to whom belonged the right to control it. I desire public station on no other terms. Without denying to the Union party in Georgia, or to any other portion of my fellow-citizens, the right to use my name, if, in their opinion, it will be beneficial to the public, it will not be further mixed up in this contest if my wishes are respected. While the contest continues, it would be a source of vexation to me, and what would be considered a successful result, if attainable, would afford me no personal gratification.

JOHN FORSYTH.

## COMMUNICATIONS.

FOR THE CRISIS.

## TO THE DEMOCRATS OF VIRGINIA.

One election is just over—Another and a more important one, takes place in November. It is well to look a-head in these matters, and therefore I take time by the forelock. I submit the following suggestions for your deliberate consideration. A brother Democrat, who is anxious for the credit of the party, presumes to offer a few words of advice, in relation to your deportment on the day of the next election. 1. On rising in the morning, be sure to wash yourselves with great nicety—especially the feet and armpits. Some neglect in this matter, has caused the Richmond Whig to apply the unsavory name of "Odoriferous Democrats" to those who have formerly represented you in the Legislature. Should any of you be addicted to an incorrigible habit of sweating in a crowd, buy you a few pence worth of cologne water, and scent your clothes with it on that day. A little pomatum likewise for the hair will not be amiss. 2. You should by no means use onions, garlic, or any flatulent food during the day. A little more particularity in this respect, I am persuaded, would soften considerably the antipathy which our Whig brethren feel for us. 3. Drink no whiskey on that day. A few days of saving or increased industry previous to the election, will enable you to buy a glass of champagne for this occasion. Few of you have failed to observe how much the drinking of this wine adds to a man's respectability. Should any of our Democratic friends be uncontrollably addicted to whiskey-drinking or any other clownish practice, or be too poor to furnish themselves with a gentlemanly suit of clothes, use your influence to keep them away from the polls until late in



the evening. Experience has proven that by that time our Whig friends are usually in so pleasant a mood, from a liberal use of ("hard cider") champagne, as to overlook many little matters of objection to us, which they apply earlier in the day. 4. I hope such of our friends as are fortunate enough to be masters of a good wardrobe, will furnish their poor neighbors with their superfluous suits to wear on that day. I beg that no unreasonable or ill-timed spirit of independence will induce our friends, who are scantily supplied with worldly goods, to reject this favor. Our common homespun is too often odoriferous of the animal that yields the flue of which it is manufactured. This offends the delicate nerves of our Whig brethren. 5. Be very careful to have your shirts cleanly washed which you are to wear on this day—nor must you let any unseemly patches be seen on your garments—look carefully at the seat of your pantaloons before you put them on.—Some of the Whigs travelling in the State have been much shocked at our neglect in this department, and have written letters to their friends at home, saying they had not met with a single Democrat who had on a clean shirt or a whole pair of breeches. Let us endeavor to wipe off this stigma. 6. The Whigs have found fault with us for being "huge-pawed"—"hard-fisted"—"rough-handed," &c. This I am sorry to say is a fault which I am utterly unable to cure in myself or in you. Until they will condescend to enlighten us, so as to enable us to live without labor as they do, and we are compelled by hard necessity to labor with our hands, I fear we can never relieve ourselves of this sin. The best advice I can invent, is, that you *hide* your "huge paws" with silk gloves. Friend Ritchie has of late years been winning from the Whigs so many of these, that he alone will be able, and is no doubt willing to furnish several scores of you for this occasion. 7. Should any of you unfortunately become for any cause, so much excited as to swear, I beseech you not to put any vulgar hell-fire or damnation into your oaths, (such as "G—d—n you, go home;" as was once used towards Mr. Polk,) but, like the same gentlemanly Mr. Clay, use "war, pestilence, and famine," or, like the same moderate Statesman, "a revolution, bloodless as yet." It is a very good oath to imitate the Whigs, and swear by the terrors of a *Military Chieftain*. 8. Some of our elod-hopping brethren are much addicted to the practice of carrying pipes in their pockets (some of them are even so vulgar as to use them made of corn cobs,) and smoking them in public. If they care any thing for their own credit or that of their party, they will use the genuine Havana cigar on that day. Many of us who are now eye-sores to the Whigs would pass muster very well, with the aid of a fine suit of clothes, a cigar and a glass of champagne. Should it have fallen to your lot to have been swindled out of your money or property by a Whig speculator, or officers of a broken Bank, do not be so vulgar and uncouth as to call them rogues and scoundrels; but, if you must speak of them, say they have been unfortunate in speculation. Our party are too much given to plain speaking. This you all know is sometimes out of season. 9. Let none of you presume to act as inspectors of the polls, unless you are sure you will use no bad grammar in making your returns, nor violate the rules for spelling. You have no idea, how much the sensibility of our Whig countrymen has been shocked by Gen. Jackson's careless orthography whilst he was our President. The National character was considered to be seriously impaired by this neglect in our Chief Magistrate. 10. After imposing so many restrictions upon the indulgence of your ordinary habits, I am happy to be able to allow you the unrestrained use of "hard cider."—Gen. Harrison uses it; and it now bids fair to shove from the stool the favorite champagne. Beware, however, of taking it into your heads, that you are like him, at liberty to prop your feet against the elegant mantels of your Whig acquaintances, into whose houses you may chance to be admitted. This, with your shoes filled with nails, would be carrying the joke a little too far. In drinking your "hard cider," use no china, glass, nor earthenware. Gourds are now the tip of the fashion. Such is the decree from the North Bend.

11. Should any of the Whig politicians vouchsafe to enlighten your ignorance on political matters, be very careful to avoid asking impertinent questions, particularly such as relate to the Whig principles generally, or to Gen. Harrison's views and opinions in regard to Abolition, Banking, Internal Improvements by the General Government, Tariff, selling white men to free negroes, &c. The Committee appointed to exercise the guardianship over Gen. Harrison, have declared to the world, that the General is so perfect a character it is gross presumption to imagine he can do or think amiss. Should any of you be so impolitic as to doubt this assertion, still you must admit that it is a violation of decorum to endeavor to wring from a man his own or his friend's secrets. It would be quite rude, too, to make any allusion to the Indians catching Harrison and his army asleep at Tippecanoe—to his resigning his commission during the heat of the war, or his

having his name struck from the list of officers to whom Congress voted swords. 12. Say nothing about the towns and villages being almost without an exception of the Whig party. These are the people who buy your butter, eggs, fowls, &c., and any unpleasant remarks about them may deprive you of a market for these commodities. 13. I will tax your patience and your memories with but one more item. After you have beaten the Whigs and elected Democratic Electors, make no feasts and fire no big guns. These things cost money; and our simple-minded Democratic law-makers won't give us a great rich Bank to pay for them, and make fortunes for us besides. Mr. Van Buren, too, is so timid that he is afraid to turn the Whigs out of their fat offices to make room for us; but keeps two-thirds at least of the snug berths filled with our opponents. I can't say that I blame him very much; for but few men have nerve enough to bear unmoved the tremendous howlings the tribe sets up, when one of their number is ousted from their snug quarters. Gen. Jackson, rash man! used to turn out a good many; and worse than that, often filled their places with men who were not of that class of persons who know each other to be "*Gentlemen by instinct*." But he now reaps the fruits of his temerity in the bitter denunciations and abuse of the Whigs, from which not even the opening tomb is sufficient to protect him.

#### JONATHAN SWIFT.

\*We "hard cider" drinkers would be obliged to any polite Whig gentleman of Albemarle to inform us, what sort of a gourd Mr. W. C. Rives uses. He has studied the graces in Paris, and his authority would be conclusive with us in matters of fashion. We have water gourds, jug gourds, short gourds, fat gourds and simblin' gourds, differing each from the others in form. We are especially curious on this point, because we suspect that the gourd from which Gen. Jackson treated Mr. Rives, and which he used a little since Mr. Van Buren's time, had *something* amiss about it, from the violent contortions and distortions we have recently witnessed in him.

#### FEDERAL SLANG.

The canvass just closed in this State, has been the most warmly contested, that has taken place for years; and never have the Federal Whigs been more untiring in their exertions. They have stickled at nothing. The demagogical slang of *Ogle of Pennsylvania*, about gold spoons and plates, and an English carriage, and English servants in livery, has been repeated on all occasions, where its repetition would have the slightest effect. A vile falsehood never was uttered by a reckless faction. The whole assertion is untrue from the beginning to the end. There are neither gold spoons, knives, forks, nor plates, in the President's house. Mr. Andrews, a Whig member of Congress, pronounces the assertion untrue. The other assertion about the English carriage and English servants in livery, is just as unfounded. Mr. Van Buren's carriage was manufactured by American mechanics, out of American materials, and what is more, has been paid for. Such are some of the arguments which are pressed into the service by the pitiful little Federal Whig Demagogues, with which the State is now overrun—such the falsehoods which they are attempting to force down the throats of the people. Their attempts will all fail. The intelligent freemen of America are not to be gulled by such trash. The author of these vile slanders, (Ogle,) has earned for himself an "infamy, imperishable and eternal." "Verily, he has his reward."

#### ECQUIS?

#### "Proscription for Opinion's Sake."

This charge forms a material part of every Federal Whig stump speech. A charge, more perfectly false in every essential particular, never has been preferred against any man, or any Administration. Since Mr. Van Buren came into office, he has removed just forty officers!! They were not removed for "*opinion's sake*," but they were removed for failures to discharge their public duties.

And here, Messrs. Editors, I will make a suggestion, which, if carried out, will result in good. Procure the names of all the Postmasters in the State, and their politics, and let the list be published in all the Democratic papers in the State. From my own knowledge and from information which I have received, I am satisfied, that the Federal Whigs hold a decided majority of the offices. This will be such an argument as all can understand.

#### ECQUIS?

#### Ruin! Ruin!! Ruin!!!

"There are not less than one hundred houses going up in Boston at this time."—*Bay State Democrat*. Pretty good evidence, we should think, that this city was not ruined. The banks there are paying specie, and their currency is in a sound state. If our banks had faithfully fulfilled their engagements, by a prompt redemption of their promises, there would be less noise here about "*ruined commerce*."

#### ECQUIS?

#### NON-COMMITTALISM.

The Federal Whigs, in 1836, were exceedingly noisy about Mr. Van Buren's non-committalism. But oh! how changed!! Not a word upon that subject now.—All the non-committalism attaches to their own candidate—the hard cider Hero. He it is that will not answer—he it is, that is in the hands of a confidential committee. And Lord, what a committee! John C. Wright, old George Kremer's "*cackling hen*," the Chairman! Is it possible, that he is the same man who

conducted a *Federal* newspaper in the State of New York in 1805, which assailed Mr. Jefferson and the Republicans generally, with a scurrility, vulgarity, and ribaldry, utterly unparalleled. He is surely a pretty keeper for a *Republican* candidate for the Presidency. I neither know, nor can I learn, any thing of Spencer and Gwinn; but, if men are to be judged by their company, then they, like Wright and Judge Burnett, were "*Blue Light Federalists*." Elect Harrison, and allow him to take his confidential advisers to Washington with him, and we will have a most beautiful *REPUBLICAN* Administration! Will the people of Virginia vote for a candidate for the Presidency, who is now in the hands of a committee? Can one so totally incompetent be entrusted with the administration of the Government of a great nation? **ECQUIS?**

#### Attention, Democratic County Committees!

The Whigs are appointing Assistants to their Electors, who are to address the people at the various Court-houses in the State, and such other places as they may deem proper. If you would counteract these movements, organize forthwith; and, if you have no speakers amongst you, invite Democrats from other counties to reply to these Federal slang-whangers. There are speakers in our ranks, able and willing to discharge this duty; and if you will call upon them, they will meet that call. Let me urge you to be "*up and doing*." Hold meetings, and call out your Electors and Assistants, and my word for it, the Democrats will be cheered up, and will enter into the Fall canvass with such a spirit, as will secure success—the most brilliant success.

#### ECQUIS?

#### RICHMOND, Va., SATURDAY, MAY 16.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

#### FEDERAL WHIG HYPOCRISY.

It suits the designs of the Federal Whigs, on the near approach of an election, to affect a wonderful tenderness for the rights and well-being of the PEOPLE—the People, whom all the political tenets and practices of that party have a tendency to degrade, and whom, whenever in the possession of power, the same party have never failed to abuse and oppress.—To begin with an example, occurring soon after their instalment in office under old John Adams, let us take the execrable *EXPIRATION LAW*. What excess of presumption could be more audacious, what conception more monstrous, than those which supposed that the People of this country—freemen, the only rightful possessors of *sovereign authority*—could by possibility commit an offence—a crime—in canvassing or condemning the acts or the opinions of their deputies or agents? And, if the People could not properly question or censure those acts or opinions, much less could they have the right to depose or to punish the authors of them. This is one early example of the truly *royal* spirit and maxims of Federalism or Whiggism. In our own times, we have another exemplification of the same principle in the Whig doctrines and practice, which justify the violation and trampling upon the sacred obligation of Instructions, which lies at the foundation of Representative Government, and without which, such Government is a mockery, a deception; in other words, *mere Whiggism*! We have heard, that whilst on his late carousing expedition to Virginia, the famous wassailing electioneer, Henry Clay, was assured by one of his worshippers, in an ecstasy of adulation, (*pleno Bacchi*, probably; for, "*when wine is in*," &c., you know the old saying,) that he loved him, *because he was an enemy to Instructions*.—The election of John Quincy Adams, and the Instructions from the Kentucky Legislature adverse to that election, were doubtless present to the mind of this man, as the sources of his faith and approbation. In Virginia, B. W. Leigh, who had been pronounced by the chief Whig organ almost a dotard, and unfit for practical usefulness, has, since disobeying as Senator, the Instructions of his immediate constituents, and defying their authority, been transformed into all that is bright, and wise, and excellent—has been *honored* in the true bombastic of that same organ, by the newfangled title of the *high-souled*.—Clay, by the like violation of Representative duty, had been previously honored by the title of the *great-souled*. So we have now the *great-souled* and the *high-souled* at work in conjunction against the poor, grovelling People. Good God! what is to become of the poor wretches? If Whiggism, as is asserted, be really in the ascendant in Virginia, the *high-souled* will probably be restored to the Senate, in reward for his services against the vulgar Loco Foco notion, that a Representative should obey the instructions of his constituents, or should immediately surrender an agency he is unwilling to fulfil.—Perfectly in character with the preceding instances—perfectly in character too with Whiggism and Federalism at this day, (for they are one,) is the determination of Gen. Harrison's Keepers, (for they will not permit the old gentleman to determine any thing for himself,) to withhold from the People, as far as is practicable, the opinions of their pri-



soner candidate upon questions vitally affecting their high political interests, and their personal and domestic quiet and safety. With all the force of truth as it been remarked, "that the pity which such an unprecedented proceeding would excite, would indeed be extreme, was it not for the insolent Federal Whig doctrine inculcated by it, viz: a contemptuous disregard of Representative responsibility." For, let it be conceded, that the enquiries propounded to Gen. Harrison, instead of involving, as they palpably do, whatever should most arouse the caution or the sympathies of freemen, and of Southern men especially, were in truth wholly unimportant in their nature—this concession would not alter the case one jot, nor diminish in any degree the outrage offered by this Whig General and his Keepers to the People of this country, and to the plainest principles of Democratic Government. How dare any man imagine himself so far the superior of his fellows in wisdom and virtue, as to require of them the greatest extreme of confidence—a confidence, committing implicitly to him their liberties, the peace, the happiness, the safety of their homes, whilst he holds to them language like the following: "Trouble me not with your questions concerning my opinions or my intentions; your enquiries are annoying and impertinent. Be satisfied; have confidence in me, and believe that I will do with respect to these concerns, whatever is best for you, and much better than you know how to advise!" Such audacious presumption and arrogance as these would be met by you with burning indignation, even in a Washington: how will you meet them, fellow-citizens, when displayed by one of the weakest old men who, either by casualty or the management of plotting and selfish intriguers, ever acquired notoriety in this or any other nation. What are the claims of Wm. H. Harrison to an idolatrous confidence in him above all men; a confidence too high to be reposed in fallible human nature? If, adopting the Scripture precept, you would "know him by his fruits," you will discover these in his support through life of the Federal abominations—a National Bank—a ruinous Tariff—a claim to appropriate our soil to its own uses by the Federal Government, a boundless scheme of patronage, favoritism and bribery by the same Government—and now, supervening upon all these, and infinitely surpassing them all in presumption and mischief, the denial to the People, the constituent body, any right to enquire into the opinions and intentions of those who may seek to represent them! If, from these bitter fruits, we turn with loathing, and look for an earnest of the future, in the associates and advocates of this weak old man, whom in this relation do we behold as his sureties and sponsors? First, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, their satellites and expectants. Secondly, the Abolition leaders of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New England; men, who for years, have directly or indirectly dealt in the abduction and harboring of our slaves, and who, at this moment, are inciting them to rebellion. Such worthies as these, in union with the Federalists, Monopolists, Speculators, Rag Money and Bank Facility men at large through the nation, and all the agents of foreign trading houses—these are the sureties for Gen. Harrison's fitness for the Presidency. Mark them well, fellow-citizens, and you will see, that it is of this motley mass that his party consists. But amidst these, must not be forgotten or overlooked, the distinguished Whig new-light, William C. Rives; for, to him belongs the merit of making and announcing to the nation, the discovery so very creditable to the General, that notwithstanding his support of all Federal measures heretofore, yet the inclination of his mind was towards the doctrines of Republicanism. Fellow-citizens, upon a just review of facts, you will decide how far the sureties are worthy of the principal for whom they vouch and justly estimate both. It is believed that you are intelligent and honest enough to detect and to reprove the whole scheme of Federal Whig deceptions, daily and incessantly practised, with the view of betraying you to the enemies of your own and your country's best interests.

#### Organize! Organize!

"Our friends in Virginia are rousing, and assuming the armour and the attitude demanded by the crisis." The very tricks and humbugs employed to deceive the People are awakening the honest indignation and the enthusiasm of the Republicans. Beaten? No. Dis-mayed? No. Deceived by the brags of an infuriated Opposition? No. Daunted by their false statistics of Election returns, by their Tippecanoe Clubs and franking abuses, by all the delusions and humbugs which they have so ruthlessly practised? No.—The letters we have received—the accounts we have obtained since the election, only satisfy us, that the Democracy are warming up and moving and arming, in Virginia, to repel the insolent brags and the daring designs of the Federalists. Their pompous processions, their miserable mummery of log cabins and hard cider, their motley Conventions, who are afraid to put forth Addresses or Resolutions, because they do not agree on any principles, and are apprehensive of offending one set of their followers by putting forth the creed of the other—all these exhibitions addressed to the senses, without any appeals to the understanding, are only calculated to

arouse the indignation of an enlightened people. The democracy of Va. will be up and a-doing—Their Committees of Vigilance are earnestly invited to organize forthwith, and save this Old Commonwealth from the hands of Webster and Clay—the very Citadel of the Constitution from the hands of the Federal Goths.—Louisiana and Caroline have first struck the ball, in the following animated Proceedings. They display the true fire of the flint. Who comes next? What we want to effect a most brilliant triumph in November, is prompt and active organization. Let each court day be signalized by the meeting of the Committees, their Republican resolutions and their untiring zeal. Whose Proceedings next shall we have the honor to record?

#### COMMUNICATED.

**CAROLINE COUNTY.**  
At a meeting of the Democratic Committee of Vigilance for the county of Caroline, held at the Tavern of Wm. W. Dickinson, jr., at the Bowling Green, on Monday, the 11th day of May, 1840, (that being Court day) Daniel DeJarnette, their Chairman, having taken the Chair and called the meeting to order; on motion of Samuel C. Scott, Wm. A. Moncure was appointed Secretary.

George Fitzhugh, Esq., then offered the following Preamble and Resolutions to the meeting, which were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, in our deliberate judgment, it is apparent from the amended Constitution of Virginia, that it was the purpose and design of the framers of that instrument, to secure to the citizens of each county, city, town, borough and election district, the right to elect a delegate or delegates, whose duty it should be to represent in the Legislature of the State, the peculiar interests, principles, sentiments and feelings of the citizens of their respective counties, cities, towns, boroughs and election districts, uncontrolled and uninfluenced by the interference of the citizens of other counties, cities, towns, boroughs, and election districts, which is clearly demonstrated by the precision and care, with which the representation throughout the State has been apportioned, with an eye singly to a fair and equal representation:

And whereas the policy pursued by the Whigs in the late elections, of introducing the votes of the citizens of towns, cities and corporations into the county elections, (many of whom claim the right to vote on small interests in lands acquired and held solely for that purpose, without feeling or possessing any identity of interest in common with the people of the country,) whilst it has proved but too successful in defeating the wishes of the yeomanry of the country, is subversive and destructive of the true intent and meaning of the Constitution: And whereas this system of policy, if continued and carried out to the alarming extent to which it is capable, will prostrate and crush the rights and interests of the country people beneath the increasing and overshadowing influence of the towns and corporations, and place the control and direction of the entire legislation of the State in the hands of the towns and corporations, to the exclusion of the counties—Therefore

1. Resolved, That it is contrary to the true intent, spirit and meaning of the Constitution of Virginia to permit any citizen of the State to vote in more than one county, city, town, borough or election district.

2. Resolved, That we will use all honorable means in our power to restrain and check a policy so violative of the spirit and meaning of the Constitution, and so disastrous and destructive to the rights and interests of the counties contiguous to the towns of our State.

3. Resolved, That we earnestly solicit the co-operation of the Democratic Committees of Vigilance throughout the State, to arouse and awaken the attention of the people to the alarming and dangerous effects of the town influence on our county elections.

4. Resolved, That though by the introduction of foreign votes into our recent county election it has resulted in the return of a Whig member to the House of Delegates, by a majority of two votes, yet we feel that we are not beaten—that the balance was cast by throwing into the scale an interest entirely foreign to our own, by which means and by bad votes a delegate has been returned who will not represent the wishes of a majority of legal voters in that county, and we are determined to do our utmost to put down such influences, and to arm ourselves for the approaching contest in the Fall, and to use all honorable means to secure the re-election of Martin Van Buren to the Presidential chair.

5. Resolved, That in our opinion the People of the U. S. possess too much intelligence to be deceived by the unmeaning cry of log cabins and hard cider, and will soon perceive that this silly mummery is used solely to divert public attention from the real designs and principles of the Whig party, which designs and principles they dare not avow.

6. Resolved, That the members of the Democratic Committee of Vigilance for this county be requested to meet at the Bowling Green on the first day of June Court for the purpose of better organization, and to appoint committees in each murder precinct in the county.

On motion of Samuel C. Scott, Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be forwarded to the Editor

of the Enquirer, with a request that they be published in the Enquirer and the Crisis; and then, on motion, the meeting adjourned till next Court.

DANIEL DEJARNETTE, Ch'mn.

Wm. A. Moncure, Sec'y.

Messrs. George Fitzhugh, Francis W. Scott and Samuel C. Scott addressed the meeting. These addresses were eloquent and appropriate, in every sense of the word, and were listened to with the greatest attention.

W. A. M., Sec'y.

#### LOUISA COUNTY.

On Monday, the 11th inst., an unusually large and respectable portion of the Democratic party, assembled at Louisa Court-house, and on motion, John Z. Holladay was called to preside as Chairman, and Dr. Wm. A. Gillespie requested to act as Secretary. The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. Wm. Crawford, who explained with much force and dignity the object of said meeting. The following resolution was then offered and adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to consider and report to this meeting what further means may be taken to advance the views of this assemblage.

Whereupon, Dr. Wm. A. Gillespie, Wm. Crawford, Dr. Benjamin M. Francisco, Hugh Goodwin and David Richardson were appointed to compose said committee.

After retiring for a while, the following resolutions were reported and adopted:

"Resolved, That we have undiminished confidence in the wisdom, virtue and patriotism of our present worthy Republican Chief Magistrate—and that we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our fellow-citizens, to use all honorable means to promote his re-election.

"Resolved, That it behooves every Democratic Republican to resist, with all his power, the reckless and no-principled course of a discordant Opposition, made up of every disaffected and ambitious party, disagreeing among themselves on all points except furious and vindictive opposition to the present Administration.

"Resolved, That we honestly and sincerely believe that if General Harrison should be elected President, he will be elected principally by the votes of Abolitionists and Federalists, and, being so elected, he will carry out the views of his immediate constituents, and that the records of the country prove him to be a Federalist, of the School of John Adams, of Alien and Sedition Law memory.

"Resolved, That in concealing his opinions from the people whilst a candidate for their suffrages, and in putting himself in the hands of a committee, who, instead of answering for him, envelope him still deeper in darkness and mystery, he justly subjects himself to the imputation of being a weak, imbecile sycophant, or to the cunning craftiness of a political Jesuit.

"Resolved, That John Z. Holladay, Dr. Wm. A. Gillespie, Hugh Goodwin, Jr., Joseph Lipscomb, William Stout, Wm. Crawford, Dr. Benj. M. Francisco, Starke W. Morris and Daniel E. Hickman be appointed a committee to prepare and publish an Address to the voters of this county; and that we pledge ourselves to deliver each voter a copy, and that we will use such other means to dispel the fallacy and misrepresentations of our opponents, and to inform the public mind, as may be consistent with honor and truth.

"Resolved, That a copy of these proceedings be forwarded to the Richmond Enquirer and The Crisis for publication."

After the adoption of the above resolutions, (the room in which the meeting assembled, not being large enough to contain the people, they were read out of doors by Dr. Francisco, and received with applause,) Mr. S. W. Morris was requested to deliver a short address to the people, but declined doing so, stating that at some future time, he would comply with the requests of his friends. Mr. Morris was a Whig until the nomination of Gen. Harrison, but finding that he could not give his support to the nominee of the Harrisburg Convention, he, like every other patriot, determined at once to go for the advancement of his country, and not for the exaltation of a party.

JOHN Z. HOLLADAY, Chairman.

WILLIAM A. GILLESPIE, Secretary.  
After the above proceedings, the County Committee was increased, by adding the following names:—William Nelson, Archibald Anderson, Abner Harris, Granville Timberlake, George J. Gardner, Z. W. Perkins, Richard Duke, Garland Sims, William Waddy, David Richardson, William S. Fowler, Stephen Farrar, Atwood Wash, Abner Burnley, David Swift, John Gentry, Thomas Duke, Benjamin L. Smith, Daniel Perkins, James A. Bellamy, Thomas Rutherford, Joseph Perkins, Robert A. Duncan, John B. Shelton, Granville L. Armstrong, Edwin J. Baker, Thomas A. Hupe, Henry W. Burnley, A. G. Bowles, Nathaniel H. Wash, Thomas Loyall, Henry Hatch, Robert S. Holladay, Wm. C. Carson, Thomas M. Armstrong, Andrew B. Cook, William S. Walton, Edmund Wash, William O. Harris, Ralph S. Goodwin, Elisha Jackson, Wm. Meredith, Garland Anderson, John Ewitt, Thomas C. Anderson, James Burnley, William Jackson, Jr., William Thompson, Sempie Goodwin, John F. Morrison, Granville Bullock, Robert Goodwin, Wm. Walton, Erasmus Walton, William Gibson, Richard Mallory, Joseph Beades, Michael Tally, Archibald Hutchinson, Samuel C. Harris, Robert Bibb, Ralph Dickinson, Charles Dickerson, Meredith Fox, Wm. Wood Estes, R. D. Roberts, A. W. Bell, Lewis Ballard, Jesse W. Harlow, James Robertson, George Harris, Thomas Harris, James Nelson, Meredith Trice, Oswald McGehee, Thomas Harris, T. F. Grady, Thos. Brough, Joseph Boxley, Lewis Nuckolls, Archibald Thompson, James Hiter, Wm. T. Lipscomb, Thomas Morris, Andrew Hard, John M. Jackson, Jesse Bibb, Robt. Jones, John S. May, Achille



Smith, Levy Baker, Capt. D. Bronough, Jesse Whitlock, J. L. Trice, Anderson Trice, Jr., John Shelton, John S. Woodson, Wm. E. Lindsay, Francis Waldrop, John Hawkins, Lancelot W. Hill, Archibald Christmas, Lipscomb B. Thomason, John W. Moes, Peter King, Charles Brooks, George Profit, and Chapman Gordon.

The Federalists may properly be styled "the Humbug Party." It is all humbug. Their crying up Gen. Harrison, (their available candidate), as a politician, is all humbug. It is because they hope to profit by his military elat, and to carry the votes of the Abolitionists in New York and Ohio, that they run him.—He is under the surveillance of a "confidential committee" of Three. They say it is to save him trouble in answering his letters. That is all humbug.—It is to prevent his expressing any opinions at all, lest he offend one party or the other.—For the same reason, they dared not come out with an Address at Harrisburg, or at Baltimore the other day with their boasted 25,000 numbers. The fact is, this motley, pickard party have no great principles on which they can agree; and the only tie which keeps the monstrous coalition together, is their reckless determination to oust M. Van Buren, and put one of their instruments in his place.—And then the means to which they resort! Their humbug of a *Standing Army*—the garbled account of the expenses of the Government, by their infamous handbill—their log cabins, coon skins, and hard cider. It is all trick and humbug. Shenstone says, there are some mousing politicians who cannot take a cup of tea without a stratagem. These humbuggers dislike *hard cider* as much as any body else; and have to call today, wine, &c., &c., hard cider. It is all a hoax, to enlist voters for their poor candidate. Poor! why, he lives in an excellent framed house, and has the best of the land. If you could believe these humbuggers, they would carry you back to the days of savage simplicity. They would strip off their broad cloth, and wear only coon skins. They would burnish their beautiful dwellings, and go back to log houses.—It is all a hoax—all for effect. All to take in the honest voters.—It is all from a contempt of the understandings of a free People. They despise the People—think them incapable of self-government—and therefore they try to impose upon them. But this honest people, more intelligent than the cheats who would gull them, will show in November next how they despise the arts of those, who would cheat them into the support of their "Military Chieftain."

There are rumors afloat in the Whig Press about changes in the cabinet. They want confirmation. All that we know is, that Mr. Kendall has resigned his office of Postmaster-General—not as the liberal man of the Petersburg Intelligencer says, because he is raving it—because he is deserting a sinking ship—(the ship will not sink,) but because his health is much injured by the labors of his office—and one of our Correspondents wrote us some days ago, that he had to discharge most of his duties upon his bed.—Mr. K. retires from the Department—not to abandon Martin Van Buren—but to devote his distinguished talents to the support of his administration. We refer to his Card. It shows, that he is to become the Editor of the Extra Globe—which will meet, as it will deserve, an extensive patronage from the Republican party.

#### Organize! Organize! A Voice from Richmond!

Last night, agreeably to public notice, a Meeting of the Republican Party of the city of Richmond, took place at the City Hall. The meeting was most respectfully attended; and they were animated by the finest spirit. As one evidence of this feeling, we fell in with four citizens, who declared, that they had never before attended a political meeting, nor had voted on a Presidential election; but that such was the crisis to which their country had arrived, that they had determined to come forward and contribute their best efforts towards defeating the election of Gen. W. H. Harrison.

Capt. W. D. Wren was called to the Chair, and Wm. F. Watson was appointed Secretary.—Mr. Ritchie addressed the meeting, and concluded by offering the following Resolution: "That a committee of 13 be appointed to prepare and report resolutions for the consideration of this meeting"—which was adopted, and the following persons appointed the committee, viz: Messrs. Ritchie, Denby, Womble, J. H. Christian, Denoon, D. Trueheart, A. H. Powell, W. Greenhow, W. F. Watson, Jenkins, Jo. Allen, N. Hill and H. N. Templeman. After some time, the Select Committee reported resolutions, (which were amended on the motion of several citizens, and unanimously adopted, as follows:)

1. *Resolved*, That it is time for the Democracy of the Old Dominion to organize all their forces, and with renovated spirit.

2. *Resolved*, That though we may have been barely beaten, for members of the Legislature, at the recent election, (by the peculiar organization of our county and Election systems, in the Spring Election,) we will not stay beaten; but as our cause is just, and the principles we support are those of Virginia, we would "not give up the Ship so long as a single man is left to tread the deck"—And although we know that we are in a minority in the City of Richmond, yet we also know, that we constitute a portion of that powerful Democracy, which holds in their hands the political destinies of the State.

3. *Resolved*, That the Republican Party were never expelled by stronger inducements to exert all their energies, than on the present Presidential Election—that they are animated by those powerful motives, which spring from a generous indignation at the unparalleled expedients, the gross delusions, and the insidious humbugs, which have been recently practised by the Opposition—that we have also the great principles of Virginia to support; and a candidate to oppose, whose unworthiness for the high station to which he aspires is made manifest by his placing himself in the custody of

a "Confidential Committee;" and whose whole political course shows him to be destitute of these great principles, which we have always regarded as the landmarks of the Constitution.

4. *Resolved*, That we hereby pledge ourselves to co-operate with our Republican Brethren throughout Virginia, in furthering the great cause to which we are devoted, and in securing the re-election of Martin Van Buren.

5. *Resolved*, That as one means of accomplishing our objects we will establish a Democratic Association in this City, and hereby invite the co-operation of every Republican in Richmond, Manchester and vicinities; and that

be appointed a Committee to solicit and receive the names of Subscribers, to make all the necessary arrangements for the purpose of organizing the Association, and to apprise the members of the time and place for holding the first meeting of said Association.

6. *Resolved*, That a subscription be opened, and that every Republican citizen present, who is willing to co-operate in such an Association, be respectfully requested to enter his name.

7. *Resolved*, That it be respectfully recommended to our Brethren in various counties and towns in the State to organize such Associations forthwith.

8. *Resolved*, That be appointed by the Chair a Committee of Vigilance—whose duty it shall be to adopt such fair and honorable measures as may be best adapted to distribute information among our fellow-citizens; to rouse the People; to correspond with the County Committees which are embraced in this Electoral District; and to unite us cordially and most effectively with our brethren throughout the State.

The blank in the 5th Resolution was filled with the names of Messrs. Seddon, Watson, Greenhow, C. Ellis, Jr., J. H. Boshier, J. H. Christian, Denoon, Powell and Haskins.

The blank in the 8th Resolution was filled with "five Republicans from each ward"—and the Chair was requested to select the Committee at its leisure.

Mr. P. Mayo delivered a short and thrilling speech.

Mr. W. F. Watson made a very clear and animated address. He showed, that if the Federalists had carried a bare majority in the Legislature, they were indebted for their meagre victory to stratagems and humbugs—that they had cried up Mr. Poinsett's Report into the plan of a standing army—that the President was not responsible for that Report; and he showed, by a reference to the public documents, that the details of the plan had been called for by the H. of R.—had never passed through the President's hands, nor obtained his approval—and that, as to the second great humbug of the Opposition, the extravagance of the Administration, they had thrown out a handbill, on the eve of the election, (without giving any adequate opportunity for counteracting its gross misrepresentations,) giving a most garbled account of the public expenses, which the recent statement from the Secretary of the Treasury, with Mr. Benton's Speech, had completely exposed, and dissipated into thin air.—He said, these delusions would now vanish; and with proper exertions, the Democracy would obtain a glorious victory, in defence of their principles, in November next. (Cheers.)

On Mr. Denoon's motion, a resolution was passed, giving the thanks of the Meeting to the Chairman and Secretary.

The Subscription paper for the Democratic Association was then presented, and it obtained in a few minutes a subscription of from 40 to 50 names.—And then the Meeting adjourned.

#### Items of News.

CONGRESS.—The bill to prevent frauds in the collection of the revenue has passed the House of Representatives by a large majority. On Thursday, they took up the "Report of the Select Committee appointed to investigate the facts relative to the disorder and personal violence which took place in the House between two of its members, to wit, Rice Garland and Jesse A. Bynum." Various amendments were proposed—and finally the House, by a vote of 106 to 57, adopted the following resolution of Mr. Craig: "That the report be committed to the same Committee, with instructions to report what action should be had in the case; and also what measures should be adopted to prevent like occurrences in future, and to protect the members of the House from insult and violence."

The Senate is busily engaged upon the bill to establish a uniform system of Bankruptcy throughout the U. S.—There is much contrariety of opinion on this subject. The mooted and most important point in the whole matter is, whether "artificial bodies," that is Corporations (Banks, &c.) engaged in trade, and should be embraced in its provisions. No decision was made on Thursday.

Wm. B. Dabney, the late First Teller of the Bank of Virginia, returned to this City in the Northern cars on Sunday last. He had gone to Toronto in Canada, and then to Lewistown. In consequence of a letter which he addressed to this City, the President of the

Bank, who has shown the utmost anxiety and made the most laudable efforts to ascertain the truth upon this mysterious transaction, obtained the assistance of an acquaintance of Dabney, who went to Lewistown, in order to prevail upon him to return. But D., before opening the President's letter, immediately declared his determination to return to Virginia, to tell the whole truth, and to clear honest men from the imputations which they had, on his account, unjustly received.—He declares, most solemnly, that he did not embezzle one cent of the money of the Bank. He has been admitted as State's Evidence in the prosecution against Benj. W. Green—and has been examined as a witness for the last four days, before the Hustings Court, in the case of Green. It would appear from D.'s evidence, that the amount as originally stated, more than half a million, is gone.

Mr. Amos Kendall has resigned the office of Postmaster-General, in consequence of ill health; and has announced his intention to conduct the Extra Globe.—Mr. John M. Niles of Connecticut will succeed him in the Post Office Department.—Mr. K.'s resignation has given rise to many misrepresentations among Washington scribblers for the Federal Press. They have published various idle speculations about "trouble in the wigwam," "disaffection in the cabinet," &c., &c. A respectable Correspondent writes us, that they are "all lies, as far as he knows or believes; that Mr. Forsyth (whose letter on the Vice Presidency has just been published) disavows all such feelings, and expresses utter surprise at the construction which the Federal press has put upon his letter."

The Federal Press is boasting and bragging about their carrying Virginia, &c., &c. This has always been their game. Take one remarkable specimen of their misrepresentations in past times. A Correspondent calls our attention to the confident predictions of the R. Whig in 1835. Amid other similar vaticinations and braggadocias of the Richmond Whig, is the following: "Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, were not more certain of the vote of Virginia, than is Judge White, in opposition to Mr. Van Buren. In various counties, and some of them heretofore the most violently Jackson, the Jackson candidates, &c., &c., are declaring for Judge White. We candidly believe that he will be supported by a very large majority, if not a majority of those who in December constituted the Jackson party, and that he will carry the State by not less than 20,000 majority."—[Richmond Whig, April 3d, 1835.]—The Whig now claims the State by 10,000 majority for Harrison, whom it styled in 1835, one of the "hopeless candidates."—Mr. Van Buren carried the State in 1836, by more than 6,000 majority—and our Correspondent puts it to any tyro, who is acquainted with Arithmetic as far as the Rule of Three, to calculate this problem: If Judge W. was to carry the State by 20,000 majority, and lost it by 6,000, by what majority will Gen. Harrison be now defeated, when he is to carry the State by only 6,000? Answer, by 12,000.—If the Whig's boasts and hurrahs did not answer in 1835, they will avail as little in 1840. Mark it!

The R. Whig is now deluding its readers by false statistics of the late Election—Take for example one single case—It sets down the Democratic vote in Harrison county (at the late Election) at 900 and some odd votes, and the Whigs at 600 and some odd, showing a Democratic majority of about 300 only—and then by taking the last Presidential vote at 601 D. and 246 W. they make out there is a Whig gain. But the fact is, there were five candidates running at the late election, one only of which was a Whig—one Democrat received 1083, another 759, a third 672, the fourth 480—and the Whig 95. Some of the Whig votes were thrown upon the other candidates—but comparatively so small, as not to reduce the Democratic vote in any very great degree. We shall draw upon Harrison, in the November Election, for about 800 majority. Depend upon it, the statistics of the Whig in 1840 are as little to be relied on, as were its bragging vaticinations in 1835.

The Feds have always been distinguished for their badges. In '38-'39 they wore the Black Cockade.—In Baltimore, many of them assumed the blue ribbon with the likeness of Harrison. Hereafter, they might give us, if the people would let them, stars, garters and crosses. They are full of humbuggery. They who dwell in palaces almost, cant about log cabins. They who quaff the richest liquors, humbug us about hard cider. We find citizen Noah recommending in his last paper, the *log-cabin campaign*. The poor fellow is already sick of the nummery of hard cider, and prefers champagne—as do most of the Whig tribe.

#### RICHMOND MARKETS.—MAY 14.

Tobacco.—The inspections now average 150 a 175 lbs. per day—prices at auction sales irregular, and not so good as last week.

Flour.—The receipts are moderate this week; the demand is fair—sales at \$4 50.

Wheat.—Supplies very small—sales at 90 a 95 cents.

HAGWELL, SMITH & JONES.